

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 051618Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9053

INFO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0381

EXDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY

SUBJ: USING THE UN TO AVOID INTERNATIONALIZING CYPRUS
PROBLEM

REF: (A) USUN 283, (B) USUN 346

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS: DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE HAD
OVER LAST FEW DAYS WITH SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS WHO HANDLE
CYPRUS AT WORKING LEVEL PERSUADE US IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO
ENLIST UN OFFICIALS IN HELPING PREVENT"INTERNATIONALIZATION"
OF CYPRUS PROBLEM. WE HAVE IN MIND TWO SPECIFIC LINES OF
ACTION: FIRST, TRYING TO PERSUADE SYG (THROUGH SECRETARIAT) TO MAKE
REPRESENTATIONS TO PARTIES, PARTICULARLY GREECE, TO STICK
WITH NICOSIA TALKS AS ONLY REALISTIC MEANS OF ACHIEVING
PROGRESS; SECOND, ASKING HIGH SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS TO MAKE
SAME POINTS WITH CERTAIN KEY SC MEMBERS AND WITH
NON-ALIGNED CYPRUS WORKING GROUP DELEGATIONS.
IF THESE ACTIONS - OR OTHERS -- ARE CONSIDERED USEFUL, THEY
SHOULD BE SET IN MOTION QUICKLY. REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS.

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1. SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR CYPRUS ARE

EXTREMELY PESSIMISTIC OVER SLOW PROGRESS OF NICOSIA TALKS. FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE, TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE, ANKARA HAVING REPEATEDLY REJECTED "REASONABLE" PROPOSALS THAT DENKTASH WAS WILLING TO LOOK AT. THEY RECOGNIZE MAKARIOS MAY BE EQUALLY DISINTERESTED IN PROGRESS, AT LEAST BEFORE FEB. 5 CONGRESSIONAL DEADLINE, BUT DO NOT BELIEVE HE HAS SIGNIFICANTLY OBSTRUCTED PROGRESS. SECRETARIAT VIEWPOINT HAS UNQUESTIONABLY BEEN AFFECTED BY EXTREMELY BRUSQUE TREATMENT REPORTEDLY GIVEN SYG BY TURKISH PERM REP OLCAY WHEN WALDSHEIM CALLED HIM IN JAN. 28 TO PLEAD FOR TURKISH CONCESSIONS. OLCAY EVIDENTLY SAID IN SO MANY WORDS THAT CURRENT CYPRUS SITUATION SUITED TURKEY, AND HIS GOVERNMENT SAW NO NEED FOR CONCESSIONS.

2. SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS ARE OF COURSE AWARE OF MAKARIOS' WARNINGS THAT HE WILL MOVE TO BROADER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS IF CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS MAKE NO PROGRESS WITHIN THE MONTH. THEY BELIEVE ANY SUCH MOVE -WHETHER A SC MISSION OR A NON-ALIGNED EXERCISE -WOULD SPELL THE EFFECTIVE END OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. AND WITH ITS FAILURE, THEY SEE MOUNTING GREEK CYPRIOT GUERRILLA ACTIVITY, MASSIVE TURKISH RETALIATION AND, IN THE END, DOUBLE ENOSIS.

3. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT INTERNATIONALIZATION RUNS DIRECTLY COUNTER TO THE UN'S INTEREST IN SAFEGUARDING THE PRESENT TALKS, SECRETARIAT HAS DONE NOTHING TO DISCOURAGE THE IDEA OF WIDER NEGOTIATING FORUMS. EARLIER THIS WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE, USYG URQUHART TOLD UK MISSION OFFICERS THAT HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT WALDHEIM'S STOPS IN ATHENS AND ANKARA ON FEB 20, BECAUSE SYG "HADN'T FAINTEST IDEA" WHAT HE WAS GOING TO SAY TO GREEK AND TURKISH LEADERS. BRITISH TELL US THEY PLAN TO GIVE URQUHART A SENSE OF THE IMMINENCE OF A GOC DECISION ON INTERNATIONALIZATION BY READING FROM CABLE JUST RECEIVED FROM HICOMER OLVER REPORTING ON TALKS WITH FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES AND CLERIDES. CHRISTOPHIDES TOLD OLVER THAT A DECISION ON INTERNATIONALIZATION WOULD LIKELY BE TAKEN "AT THE END OF THIS WEEK". (HE NOTED ALSO THAT THERE WAS "GROWING PRESSURE" ON MAKARIOS TO VISIT MOSCOW). CLERIDES WAS MORE EXPLICIT AS TO MODALITIES OF "INTERNATIONALIZATION." HE SAID FUTHER APPEAL TO SECURITY

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COUNCIL WAS GOC'S MOST LIKELY NEXT STEP. OBJECTIVE WOULD BE "TO GET A UN DELEGATION TO CYPRUS INSTRUCTED TO LOOK INTO METHODS OF EXPEDITING IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RESOLUTIONS.

4. COMMENT: EVEN WITH VIGOROUS CYPRIOT AND SOVIET LOBBYING, WE BELIEVE SC RESOLUTION CALLING FOR UN DELEGATION TO VISIT CYPRUS WOULD PROBABLY FAIL TO OBTAIN NECESSARY NINE AFFIRMATIVE VOTES-- PARTICULARLY IF SECRETARIAT MADE IT CLEAR SUCH A MISSION WOULD CUT ACROSS NICOSIA TALKS. ABSTENTIONS, AT MINIMUM, COULD ALMOST

CERTAINLY BE COUNTED ON FROM US, UK, CHINA, SWEDEN, ITALY, COSTA RICA, JAPAN AND IRAQ, AND IN THIS COMPANY FRANCE WOULD PROBABLY ALSO ABSTAIN. ALSO, VIOLENT ANTIPATHY OF CHINA TO ANYTHING RESEMBLING EARLIER SOVIET PROPOSALS COULD BE HELPFUL IN BLOCKING ANY SC ACTION THIS MONTH WHILE PRC HOLDS SC PRESIDENCY. ALTHOUGH COUNTING VOTES IS NOT ONE OF CYPRIOT AMB ROSSIDES' STRONG POINTS, GOC MIGHT LOOK AT SC SITUATION AND OPT INSTEAD FOR NON-ALIGNED MISSION. OBVIOUS CANDIDATES WOULD BE NON-ALIGNED CYPRUS WORKING GROUP MEMBERS: YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA, ALGERIA, GUYANA AND MALI. DIFFICULTY HERE FROM CYPRIOT STANDPOINT IS THAT, AS GA DEBATE PROVED, WORKING GROUP TENDS TO LEAN MORE TOWARD TURKEY THAN CYPRUS.

5. WHATEVER THE OBSTACLES, MAKARIOS WILL PROBABLY TRY TO GET CYPRUS BACK TO THE UN IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. EVEN IF HE FAILS, THE ATTEMPT ITSELF IS LIKELY TO BE DESTABILIZING, FOR TURKS WILL EXPLOIT IT AS SHOWING UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE SINCERELY AT NICOSIA. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE WORTH A TRY TO EXPLORE WITH USYG URQUHART POSSIBILITY OF SECRETARIAT UNDERTAKING SOME SELECTIVE LOBBYING IN SUPPORT OF CLERIDES/DENKTASH TALKS AS ONLY VIABLE NEGOTIATING FORUM. PROBLEM IS TOO CONTROVERSIAL FOR UN TO BE EXPECTED TO LAUNCH A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN. AT SAME TIME, WALDHEIM MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO WEIGH IN WITH GREEK GOVT IN PARTICULAR TO ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE TALKS WHICH HE HIMSELF CONVENED. WALDHEIM HIMSELF AGREED WITH AMB SCHAUFELLE'S OBSERVATION THAT ANY TURKISH CONCESSIONS WHICH WALDHEIM SEES AS NECESSARY ARE MORE LIKELY IN NICOSIA SETTING THAN IN GLARE OF PUBLIC SC MEETINGS. USYG'S URQUHART AND GUYER MIGHT ALSO BE RECEPTIVE TO SUGGESTION THAT THEY TALK IN LOW-KEY TO CERTAIN KEY MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL AND NON-ALIGNED CYPRUS WORKING GROUP.

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